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THE Nation

AUGUST 18, 1956
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WHAT'S WRONG WITH NIXON?

Public Life of a Cardboard Hero

by Gene Marine

Atoms and Genes

by C. H. Waddington

Inside the French Left

Thorez Fights the Future

by Pierre Hervé

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A COMMUNICATION

DISARMAMENT AT THE CONVENTIONS

The author of this communication, Josephine W. Pomerance, is the United Nations observer for the American Association for the United Nations.

SINCE 1950, under the administration of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, the United States has advocated a policy of world disarmament and a raising of living standards in the underdeveloped areas of the world. In its unanimous adoption of S. R. 150 in 1953, the Senate went on record in support of this goal. Yet to date it has been impossible to reach agreement on the first concrete steps to disarmament. Nevertheless disarmament and world development should still be the cornerstone of American foreign policy. What will the two parties, meeting in Chicago and San Francisco, have to present in the way of resolutions and platform commitments on disarmament? If our policy is to be more than an expression of pious hope — if tangible achievements are to be registered — then certain basic points should be met:

1. As a prerequisite to successful negotiations on stages of a disarmament plan, the goal should be clearly defined as universal, enforceable disarmament right down to the level necessary to maintain internal order. Every effort should continue to be made to devise those techniques necessary to facilitate total nuclear disarmament. In the meantime, however, disarmament negotiations could be governed by the principle stated by Jules Moch, French delegate to the UN Disarmament Commission: "No control without disarmament; no disarmament without control, but progressively all the disarmament that can be controlled."

2. There should be a recognition of the need for a more flexible U. S. policy which would permit the acceptance of those agreements on disarmament which can now be obtained. An essential step in this direction is the formulation of a UN control organ to enforce a limitation of nuclear-weapon tests. Although agreement on this plan would not ensure against surprise attack, nor would it represent extensive disarmament, it would reduce world tension and act as a brake on the race for intercontinental ballistic missiles, thus keeping the technical obstacles to arms control within manageable proportions.

3. There should be a recognition that U. S. security itself depends on raising the present sub-standards of living of two-thirds of the world's people. (This requires urgent attention, as the immediate advantage of atomic power will fall to the already industrialized nations, tending to widen the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots.")

The recent statement of President Eisenhower to the Advertising Council that "Every dollar spent intelligently in the field of development is worth $5 spent on armaments" indicates that success in this field could be achieved at bargain rates. Nor would this expenditure be a total loss, for it would increase world trade, enlarge world markets for U. S. products and, combined with domestic public-works programs for schools, hospitals, slum clearance, etc., help to cushion the shift to a peacetime economy. To implement this program the United States should commit itself in definite terms to use the resources saved through preliminary steps to disarmament for such United Nations programs as SUNFED, if the USSR will similarly fulfill its pledge of last March to donate the resources saved through the reduction of conventional arms to welfare purposes in less developed countries.

4. There should be a recognition that the political settlements which the United States believes must precede disarmament might be reached more easily within the disarmament framework. On June 25 Senator Flanders suggested to the Senate that Chancellor Adenauer be encouraged to negotiate with the Kremlin to reunite East and West Germany in exchange for an unarmed and neutral Germany, free in all other respects. This proposal, Senator Flanders pointed out, would satisfy the real wishes of the German people and create a neutral buffer zone, mutually advantageous to East and West.

On June 28, the army's Director of Research and Development, Lieutenant General James M. Gavin, disclosed that "several hundred million deaths" would result from an American strategic bombing assault on Russia. The area of devastation, according to the "current planning estimates" would extend over Japan and the Philippines or over a large area of Western Europe, depending on which way the wind blew. Only insistent demand and courageous leadership for political settlements within the framework of universal disarmament can ensure the security of nations.

Will the delegates to the conventions which are about to assemble recognize the opportunity which is theirs for political leadership on this paramount issue?

JOSEPHINE W. POMERANCE
New York

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1956
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Opacity of Mr. Dulles

John Foster Dulles is a hard man to understand. His latest blunder—the State Department's firm refusal to permit American correspondents to visit China at Premier Chou En-lai's invitation—profits nobody except possibly the Chinese Communists, whom Mr. Dulles would not consciously aid and abet. Reading Mr. Dulles' mind is a hazardous occupation, but some or all of the following considerations may have moved him to hold our newsmen on leash: 1. It is improper for American reporters to accept Chinese hospitality as long as the last "political hostages" have not been released. 2. We maintain no diplomatic relations with the Communist regime and could not protect our nationals. 3. The invitation was a propaganda stunt. 4. Officially received correspondents might be hoodwinked into a favorable impression of China's present situation. But having thought that far, Mr. Dulles would presumably have thought further that: 1. The presence of American correspondents in China would be powerful added pressure for the release of the hostages (any correspondent worth sending that far would ask to talk to them and report the result of his request). 2. No harm could conceivably come to visitors sponsored by Chou En-lai. 3. Whatever propaganda there may be in the gesture the Chinese have reaped immediately by our spurning it. 4. American correspondents, as Mr. Dulles knows, are not a docile and naive lot. Furthermore, he continues the situation whereby American papers are forced to print news about China from sources more friendly to the regime than their own correspondents would be. The day before Chou En-lai issued his invitation, the New York *Times* featured on its front page a distinctly favorable interview with him by the correspondent of the Melbourne (Australia) *Herald*. The fifth, and possibly the determining reason behind Mr. Dulles' obstinacy, may have been a fear that the projected visit would upset Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang can be very troublesome during an election year, the more so as he knows full well that time is running out on his profitable Formosan enterprise. Looked at from whatever angle, however, this latest Dulles blunder is another example of his capacity to mystify everyone. It is hard to understand a man whose failures are apparent enough but whose intentions are never clear.

What is clear, however, is the necessity for re-establishing direct channels of communication, via the press, between the Chinese people and the American people. Our main reliance for news about China for the last seven years has been the fantasy-factories maintained by the Chinese Nationalists at American expense. It has been the steady flow of rumor and propaganda from Formosa, coupled with the lack of direct news, that has given the China Lobby its power to influence policy. Half the time, our policy-makers have felt themselves the captives of an aroused but misinformed public.

The Nation is pleased to have been included among the eighteen American publications which may now send correspondents to China, assuming they can get through the Dulles curtain. Unlike most of the press, we have not acquiesced in the blackout of news from China. Since the Korean War, we have managed to bring to our readers a long series of first-hand reports on China by such observers as: V. K. R. V. Rao (April 5, 12, 1952); Desmond Donnelly (March 3, April 4, 1953); Joan Robinson (August 14, 1954); Kingsley Martin (May 14, 1955); Gerald Bailey (December 3, 1955); and James Bertram (June 23, 1956). Excellent as this coverage has been, we are confident that it will soon be possible to supplement it with reports from some of our regular correspondents.

The First Step

Dr. C. H. Waddington's article in this issue (p. 137) may at a rapid first reading suggest that there is little urgency about the suspension of further tests of nuclear weapons. But in our view the element of hazard in the tests has never been the major reason for stopping them. Suspension of the tests would be the first step toward nuclear disarmament. It would dispose of the Administration's objection to disarmament without inspection. No inspection would be needed for no concealment is possible. Ending the tests may seem like a small step toward disarmament but it is not. As V. K. Krishna Menon pointed out in a remarkable speech in the UN Disarmament Commission (July 12), one forward step may not be a guarantee of progress but it always carries within it the possibility of another step. It would also provide part of the answer to what is called the problem of "the third country," that is, what might

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happen if a third, fourth or fifth country, say West Germany, Japan and China, in that order, were to perfect their bomb technology by conducting successful tests. Suspension of the tests would relieve popular fears and apprehensions that have reached dangerous proportions; for example, psychiatrists in Japan have given a name to a new malaise, *hoshano noirozeh* or radiation neurosis. Finally, the tests are immoral and contrary to international law (see, The Legality of H-Bomb Tests, *The Nation*, December 31, 1955). The force of these considerations is not lessened by the fact that the actual genetic damage caused by the tests to date may have been slight.

Sad Anniversary

This year's observance of the eleventh anniversary of Hiroshima on August 6 was a sad affair. For one moment there was silence in Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park where 20,000 people had assembled. Then a whirr of wings as hundreds of doves arched the sky. As the hands of the clock pointed to 8:15 A.M.—the exact hour and minute when the bomb fell—sirens wailed and bells tolled. A few moments later, the mayor told the gathering: "The tragedies of Hiroshima shall not be repeated" and the crowd chorused in return: "The tragedies of Hiroshima shall not be repeated." In New York—perhaps the world's finest target in a future nuclear war—the anniversary was principally observed by three small pacifist groups. But the support for disarmament is much broader than this minimal demonstration would indicate. With the Democratic and Republican Parties assemblying in Chicago and San Francisco, now is the time, as Josephine Pomerance suggests in a communication in this issue, to induce both parties to accept as the minimum bipartisan commitment on disarmament, the vital first step of a suspension of further tests. As a matter of fact, now is the time for the President to make a unilateral announcement that we will make no further H-bomb tests, the commitment to stand only as long as other nations also refrain from making tests. There is no risk in such a declaration and there might be great advantage.

Cheers for CASE

No recent event has aroused such unqualified enthusiasm in this office as the announced intention of the Republican high command to win over the "eggheads" and intellectuals. No longer will the Democrats, as in the glorious days of Roosevelt, have a monopoly of "cultural" political influence. Chaired by Harry J. Carman, dean emeritus of Columbia College, and Helen Hayes, with strong support from Mrs. Jouett Shouse whose husband was president of the American Liberty League, the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower (CASE) has been formed with the personal blessing of Sherman Adams, assistant to the President, to enroll the country's intellectuals in the great crusade.

For us, the editors of a publication catering to intellectuals, being wooed by the GOP is a new and delicious sensation. Never before, in ninety-one years of publication, has the GOP come with posies to our door. Not only do we like being wooed; frankly, we could be "had." But we can't be had for peanuts. If CASE wants us, if CASE really feels, as its announcement states, that the influence of the extreme right wing is waning in the Republican Party, then let it induce the GOP to offer some seductive bait. For example, "ditch" Dick Nixon, chuck the Madison Avenue crew (it may be news to Mr. Adams, but American intellectuals are not wild about Robert Montgomery), stop public brainwashings, put the banned books and publications back on the shelves of the overseas libraries, go forward with the idea of taking some American art exhibits overseas despite the fears which have been expressed that some of the artists might turn out to be admirers of Picasso or Léger, reschedule the tour of the Symphony-of-the-Air which the State Department abruptly canceled for political reasons, rescind the cruel judgment pronounced on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, induce Mr. Brownell to stop "listing" organizations including another "Arts and Sciences" committee which was formed to support Roosevelt and ended up by being proscribed, and, above all, stop insulting our intelligence by nonsensical notions that Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee are twin pillars of democracy in the Far East. If the GOP will do these things—even a few of these things—it will discover that the nation's intellectuals, after years of being kicked around by a donkey, are quite willing to be seduced by an elephant.

Penny-Wise

It is farsighted of UNESCO to set up an international convention for the preservation of cultural monuments in time of war, providing an attractive blue and white flag to be flown on such structures and a matching badge to be worn by the custodians in charge of them. It is also ludicrously trivial and at bottom wrongheaded. The nations of the world now recognize that they must resolve to keep the peace or resign themselves to the extinction of civilization, if not the race itself. No one is going to spare monuments in another war, and to pretend that any such humane consideration might operate gives a false picture of the holocaust in store.

UNESCO's little flag also suggests that the UN has its fingers crossed when it declares that war has become unthinkable. A man who has irrevocably renounced the demon rum does not carry a bottle of Alka-seltzer in his valise, and statesmen who really believe that war must be forever abolished should not make plans for saving a cathedral here and a museum there. Mankind itself is what we are now trying to save.

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WHAT'S WRONG WITH NIXON?

Public Life of a Cardboard Hero . . by GENE MARINE

San Francisco

THE NAME of the man who will be the next President of the United States is Richard Milhous Nixon.

To bet against that proposition, you would be entitled to odds. Losing your bet would depend on only three intermediate events, each of which is heavily weighted in one direction. First, Nixon must win renomination for his job as Vice President, almost a certainty since Harold Stassen has considerately brought the opposition out for Leonard Hall to slap down. Second, the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket must win again in November, also conceded to be an easy probability by most observers whose crystal balls are unclouded by the mist of wishful thinking. The probability of the third event can be derived with the precision of mathematics from the handiest set of actuarial tables.

Yet, thanks to today's peculiar political situation, the ascension of Nixon would place in the highest elective office a man who almost certainly could not win it by election. Regardless of their aptitude in fact, such appellations as "white-collar McCarthy" seem to most Americans a trifle extreme; still, a good many citizens who have swallowed the Madison Avenue image of Eisenhower remain chary of his "boy" — often without knowing why. One writer has characterized the widespread wariness about Nixon by reference to an old English rhyme:

> I do not love thee, Dr. Fell:
> The reason why I cannot tell;
> But this I know, and know full well:
> I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.

Even Nixon's strongest supporters —*Newsweek's* Ralph de Toledano, the Los Angeles *Times'* Kyle Palmer, *Time's* James Keogh — admit this pervasive dislike: they argue that since the feeling is often vague or amorphous, it must be baseless. This writer, seeking the roots of this dislike, has come to feel differently. Because a large number of people are inarticulate does not necessarily make them stupid; and a widespread feeling of caution, if not hostility, toward a public figure does not spring up without cause.

Slowly, an investigator realizes that if the Nixon boosters really don't understand the dislike of their protegé, it is probably because they haven't paid close attention to their Madison Avenue homework. One of the most effective techniques of "attitude conditioning" now in use is to avoid the massive message, and, indeed, any message at all. Instead, one uses only a subtle touch here and a casual word there — some so quiet as to be hardly noticeable, none strong enough to provoke answer or response, but all, cumulatively, adding up to an attitude. The hat manufacturer no longer tells us to wear hats; instead he induces movie and television studios to show their heroes wearing hats. Our heads are covered without our knowing that the hat people had anything to do with it. We recall no particular movie or TV show; it just "seems right" to wear a hat.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL processes involved can operate in reverse to create a feeling of vague dislike — even for a young man who often seems the embodiment of Madison Avenue values and methods. The feeling against the Vice President, I believe, comes from precisely this: one or two major eyebrow-raising events to set the tone, but the attitude finally shaped by myriad tiny examples of contradiction, vacillation and outright unreality.

The essential fact about Nixon, evident to anyone who looks at his record as a whole, is that the Vice President, after ten years in national politics, can best be described as a Cardboard Man; one can sometimes find two sides to him, but never any depth, any reality as a person. The public image of the President may be misleading, even false, but it is three-dimensional and consistent; Nixon, in contrast, is like the television pitchman who, with a good script, cogently explains the benefits of life insurance one evening a week, only to be encountered late another night frenziedly shouting the dubious virtues of a headache nostrum.

Often the two sides of the Cardboard Man appear, though rarely close together; sometimes the dissimilarity seems to pass unnoticed. Like the hat-wearing TV hero, though, the process has its subtle effect. Thus every semi-official Nixon biography boasts of his gentle Quaker background, but he not only served for more than three years in the navy but was identified in the press as the "off-the-record" advocate of armed intervention in Indo-China. He has identified himself with the movement toward civil rights and full equality for Negroes, but gained headlines in the Negro press by buying a house under a racial restrictive covenant.

He returned from a trip to Southeast Asia to make a plea for understanding and wisdom that would have done credit to Chester Bowles, but then followed it up within weeks by trumpeting again the frightening Dulles phrases which had done so much to alienate the very people he had just visited. The contradictions reach well back into Nixon's career: during a Senate battle on extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, for instance, Nixon warmly supported the opponents of extension, even voting to recommit the extension bill; yet when, in spite of his efforts, the bill came up for passage, he voted for it.

Among Nixon's critics the idea is widespread that he is quite without convictions, that the cardboard figure he presents is in fact all there is to him: the face turned ever toward personal gain, the back turned al-

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ways on scruple or principle—no more to him than that. Observers violently opposed to both often contrast Nixon with his fellow-Californian, Senate Minority Leader Knowland. Both are dedicated and essentially humorless men; neither is often found on what liberals would regard as the side of the angels. But where Nixon is a force, a type, an image, Knowland is a person. He has a personality rather than a multitude of personalities; he has positions—however prehistoric—rather than a reputation for having taken every possible position on every possible subject at least once.

Business Week, in its issue of October 8, 1955, made the only real attempt this reporter could find to counter this image of Nixon; the magazine argued strongly that Nixon does indeed have principles, and even listed eight. Some were dubious; some were unintentionally damning; some were funny. All deserve examination—if only because they represent a determined, thought-out effort, by professional writers in avowed support of Nixon, to come up with the best possible proof of the Cardboard Man's three-dimensionality.

1. The first, if un-Quakerish, is broad enough to be unquestionable: "He believes deeply that we must be strong, and must fight if necessary."

2. "Though his record on foreign aid was spotty during his Congressional days," says the magazine, "insiders believe he's for it." The qualifying phrase would seem to speak for itself.

3. On foreign trade, he "probably agrees with Eisenhower." Students of the President's actions in the foreign-trade field are invited to decide whether this constitutes a position.

4. The fourth goes with the first: "He would be for balancing the budget, but to him it's not quite the shining goal that it is to Eisenhower."

5. *Business Week* points out that some favor tax cuts for individuals, others for corporations. Nixon's principle? "He would lean to the cut for individuals, *out of political considerations* (italics added)."

6. "Nixon opposes making military cuts just to balance the budget." The sole base for this statement is that Nixon once had lunch with Treasury Secretary Humphrey to help settle a difference between Humphrey's budget estimate and Defense Secretary Wilson's. At that, it is a stronger base than is offered for most of the statements.

7. Nixon opposes racial discrimination. For some reason unnoticed by *Business Week,* however, the Negro press almost uniformly opposes Nixon. Possibly it has something to do with his bland assurance, not long ago, that school desegregation was brought about by "a great Republican Chief Justice," or his earlier remark to the effect that armed-forces desegregation was a Republican accomplishment. Even the austerely Republican *Army Times* couldn't stomach that last one; it printed an angry editorial quoting Truman's executive orders and blasting Nixon's partisanship.

8. The eighth "principle" attributed to the Cardboard Man admits the truth of the accusation in the wording of the defense: "When his current views become more widely known," the magazine states cautiously, "Democrats may find it hard to pin an anti-labor tag on him." The admission, of course, is that his views are not known now—which is what the magazine is trying to deny.

WHAT DEMOCRATS, according to *Business Week,* may "find hard," labor does with no trouble at all. The AFL, in rating Nixon's Congressional voting record on ten key issues, gave him two "right" against eight "wrong." The CIO-PAC, broader in its interest, made it six "right," ten "wrong" on sixteen votes (but three "rights" had nothing to do with labor law, being foreign-aid votes on occasions when the Cardboard Man was being an enlightened internationalist). Examination of the labor record itself brings to mind again the quick switch by the life-insurance-to-painkiller TV pitchman: Nixon voted to raise the minimum wage, and opposed extending anti-trust laws to unions; yet he voted for Taft-Hartley (according to *Business Week,* he helped write it), voted to remove 650,000 workers from social-security rolls, voted to deprive a million workers of minimum-wage coverage.

The overall effect of the *Business Week* brushwork is to paint Nixon as a sort of junior Eisenhower—a picture hard to square with Nixon's strength along the Dirksen-Bridges-Bricker axis of diehard reaction. Even that other rabid Nixon-worshipper, Ralph de Toledano, quotes Nixon's bland admission: "I broke with McCarthy when he attacked the Administration." Apparently, the noisome activities of the Wisconsin Senator prior to that time had been perfectly all right with the cardboard Vice President.

IN CALIFORNIA, we find it easier to account for the dislike, ranging from vague unease to near nausea, that Nixon so easily inspires. We remember a lot of things that never really came to national attention, like his first foray into politics, contesting the Twelfth Congressional District (California) with Jerry Voorhis.

It seems appropriate that Nixon got this start by answering an ad placed by California businessmen seeking a candidate—any candidate—to oppose Voorhis. The story is that they asked the young applicant whether he was a Republican; they got for reply a ringing declaration of political principle: "I guess so—I voted for Dewey last time." A few months later Nixon was issuing a folder declaring that "a vote for Nixon is a vote against the PAC and its Communist principles" (the non-Communist CIO-PAC never endorsed Voorhis). More significant, perhaps, housewives in the Twelfth District began hearing by phone from mysterious callers—"I'm a friend of yours, but I can't identify myself"—who whispered confidentially, "I just wanted you to know that Jerry Voorhis is a Communist." The man whom Washington newsmen had voted "best Congressman west of the Mississippi" lost; the Cardboard Man won.

In Congress, Nixon gained enough prestige by becoming associated with the Hiss case to earn himself the 1950 nomination for the Senate against Helen Gahagan Douglas. The Hiss case has been amply discussed elsewhere, and Nixon's part in it assayed. Between the adulators to whom Nixon was the single-handed savior of the nation, and the detractors who insist that he, like others, was merely used by Chambers, the impartial investigators gen-

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erally concede that he profited by tenacity where others were inclined to abandon the subject, but that Washington correspondent Bert Andrews was responsible for much of the work and most of the planning.

At any rate, his other activities in the House, especially his talent for getting on opposite sides of as many questions as possible, did their bit to contribute to the unease about Nixon (most people have forgotten that the oppressive McCarran act of 1950 drew many of its measures from the unsuccessful Mundt-Nixon bill, cooked up while the Cardboard Man was in the House). When the time came to campaign for the Senate, there were various other bursts of publicity about the Vice President-to-be. Like the peculiar affair of the Brewster - Grunewald - Nixon check.

OWEN BREWSTER, at that time, was Senator from Maine and head of the Republican Senatorial Campaigns Committee. Contributions from the party committee to a *primary* campaign are frowned upon (California's screwball crossfiling system is admittedly something of a special case, but Republican Party rules made no provision for it); contributions from a Senator to the primary campaign of a Senate candidate in another state are not exactly *comme il faut* either. But Senator Brewster apparently wanted the young Congressman beside him in the Upper House.

So Senator Brewster, according to his own story, borrowed $10,000 from his Maine bank and deposited it to the credit of Henry ("The Dutchman") Grunewald, Washington mystery man whose activities have been thoroughly exposed by Drew Pearson and others. "The Dutchman," in turn, wrote out a check for $5,000 to Nixon, who cashed it. Brewster later, in apparent violation of party rules, reimbursed himself from the funds of the committee which he headed.

As one writer phrased it, in cashing a Grunewald check "Nixon was either naive or knew less about what was going on in Washington than the greenest reporter on Capitol Hill." This was after this shrewdest of politicians had spent four years in Congress. The association with "The Dutchman," and the peculiar juggling of funds involved in the transaction, were enough to defeat Brewster in Maine; the beneficiary of the deal, however, has never been touched by the episode.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Douglas was telling Californians, accurately, that Nixon had voted against aid to Korea five months before the Korean War began (a vote predicated on the fact that the bill did not carry an equal amount of aid for Formosa). But Nixon and his associates, including the ubiquitous campaign manager Murray Chotiner, had no intention of arguing about issues. They chose to dwell steadily on the fact that Mrs. Douglas' House record "paralleled" that of the radical New Yorker, Vito Marcantonio.

Marcantonio had voted for public housing, civil-rights legislation and pro-labor bills and so had Mrs. Douglas. Occasions when their votes were opposed, as on Marshall Plan funds and on Korean aid (where Marcantonio's vote matched Nixon's), were never mentioned. Mysteriously, Nixon's second bid for federal office was again associated with recurrent rumors and anonymous phone calls. One such tale told of a woman who could testify that she had attended Communist Party meetings at Mrs. Douglas' home; another had it that Melvyn Douglas carried a Party card. No woman and no card were ever produced.

For many who have the not-so-mysterious "Dr. Fell" feeling about Nixon, the 1952 campaign provides the frame into which the rest of the

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picture can be fitted. Even today, Nixon backers are none too happy about the $18,000 "slush fund" raised for Nixon by a few Southern California businessmen, including the present Undersecretary of State, Herbert Hoover, Jr. The references to it in today's biographies ("Mr. Nixon," says *U. S. News*, "arranged to go before the television cameras, and withdrew for several hours to gather his thoughts") is accurate enough, but distressingly incomplete.

There is no mention, any more, of the frenzied activity on the part of Los Angeles businessmen, attorneys and advertising men, who planned the idea, prepared the statement and staged a television show as carefully plotted as any of Ed Sullivan's Sunday night extravaganzas. The writer has personal knowledge of one huge California firm whose executive activities were at a complete standstill for days in advance of the speech, its officers being taken up with preparations for the program ("Of course it was phony," the general manager told me, "but it worked, didn't it?").

It worked well enough, obviously; but the incident left its mark in American minds. There were a good many to whom the financial affairs of Mr. Nixon came as no more of a surprise than did his choice of a way out. There are a good many more for whom the first impact of the frankness-*cum*-Checkers speech has worn off, leaving, like a receding wave, the stubborn rocks of fact.

THESE easy-to-remember incidents — the $18,000 fund, Nixon's association with the "influential" Murray Chotiner—set the tone; the many tiny drops of expediency and apparent insincerity fill in the feeling. The Chotiner association was fully documented in these pages, well before the indication of Congressional interest. Coming after all the rest, it probably toppled off the fence anyone still uncommitted on the subject of the Cardboard Man after the 1954 campaign.

It was during this campaign, with all the heat it provoked, that Nixon proved himself the nation's foremost master of planting ideas without actually saying what he appeared to have said. McCarthy's famous "Alger — I mean Adlai" pales to a sloppy crudity alongside the calculated subtlety of such phrases as this one from a Milwaukee speech of June, 1954: ". . . a Democratic Party which is the helpless captive of two types of men—one without principle (*sic!*), the other fanatically dedicated, but both welded together by a common determination to socialize basic American institutions."

IN THAT PHRASE, perhaps, we can find the whole picture of the Cardboard Dr. Fell. It says nothing, takes no position except an implied respect for "basic American institutions"; it is couched in the neat, semantically empty phrasing of a high-level advertising campaign; it depends for its effect on a shrewd and subtle attack on the opponent, an attack that through careful choice of words manages to force on the hearer an inference the speaker can blandly deny was intended.

That campaign included ads in Colorado reading "How Red is Democratic nominee John Carroll?" and a radio spot in which "Communist Party printing presses" were heard grinding out orders to support Democrats. But most of all it included Nixon, demonstrating once again his sole public identity: that of the Cardboard Man.

The New York *Times* of October 23 reported from Cheyenne, Wyoming, that "Nixon blasted away tonight at what he called the alliance between the Communist Party and left-wing Democrats to defeat Republican candidates for Congress." The Los Angeles *Times* editorialized, less than three weeks later, that "It is not true that Nixon accused the Democrats of treason or connivance with Communists." More significantly for our analysis, Nixon himself told a group of fellow-Republicans, almost immediately afterward, that they should "advocate vigorously the policies we think are best . . . without impunging the motives of those who disagree with us."

All of this, I think—and reams of similar citations that are easily enough found elsewhere—adds up to that vague, uneasy dislike of Nixon that reaches so far into the American mind. It isn't opposition. One can oppose a McCarthy as a force, even detest him as an opponent and still feel sorry for him as a man—because he plainly is a man, round and three-dimensional. One can oppose a Knowland and understand, even grudgingly admire, the tenacity and integrity with which he fights for his aboriginal position.

But one can oppose a Nixon only as one boxes a shadow. Where other public figures present a pattern, Nixon presents a kaleidoscope. Where one can imagine Knowland, or even McCarthy, making a politically unwise choice that is nonetheless consistent, the idea is unthinkable when applied to Nixon.

It is no accident that his popularity—which is real and not to be underestimated—is strongest where the popularity of the soap opera is strongest. There, in that cardboard world, heroes are young, good-looking; they wear neat suits and open smiles, and speak in perfectly chosen clichés. They are depthless—cardboard—and when we meet such people in real life, our feeling is quite often that same vague dislike, that same unease which, when questioned, can only evoke the poetic reply:

The reason why I cannot tell. . . .

Convention Reports

AT CHICAGO, and a week later at San Francisco, *The Nation's* principal reporter will be R. T. McKenzie, the British authority on politics and parties who is in this country to cover the conventions for the BBC. Mr. McKenzie, on the faculty of the London School of Economics, is the author of *British Political Parties*, which D. W. Brogan has called "A first class book . . . of the first order of importance."

Carey McWilliams will also attend the Chicago sessions of the Democrats and will phone from there *The Nation's* lead editorial for next week's issue. At the Cow Palace in San Francisco, Kenneth Rexroth, poet, historian and radio critic, will sit in with Mr. McKenzie and will file a West Coast view of the Republican proceedings for the issue of September first.

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STORM OVER EAST EUROPE

The Satellites Taste Freedom . . by MARK GAYN

Montreal

THE POZNAN uprising was a straw in a violent wind, but it was not the only one. All through the year, the wind has been blowing hard across the Red edge of Europe, exposing unrest, doubt and confusion. Whatever the Communist claims, it is now clear that the "people's democracies" have been going through a long-delayed but profound crisis the end of which is not in sight.

The roots of this crisis go deep into the soil of Stalinism. For in Eastern Europe, Stalin sought to achieve in a decade the degree of industrialization for which Russia had needed twenty-five years, and the West all of fifty. But, unfortunately, most of the countries of Eastern Europe were backward, peasant lands, and not all of them had the resources, the manpower or the funds required for the type of industrialization demanded by Stalin. As the stresses and the difficulties multiplied, coercion and terror became standard devices to keep the pace of production up.

Nor was this all. As in the Soviet Union, so in Eastern Europe, the rapid industrialization generated a major social revolution. Peasants became workers; a new and vast bureaucracy became encrusted about the enormous structure of state; and a great new class of intellectuals came into being. Yet, the political system remained frozen in the pattern introduced by Stalin, with all its compulsions, rigidities and crudities.

Signs of the great and growing crisis were plain long before Stalin's death. But since the spring of 1953 the strains have been translated into open, and sometimes violent, disaffection. The disaffection, in fact, represents two revolts, differing in participants, character and goals. One embraces the industrial workers, whose grievances are primarily economic. The other involves the intellectuals, or what might be called the middle class of the new classless society. The yearnings and demands of this group are mainly political; what they want is not more bread, but more intellectual and political elbow room.

ONE OF THE paradoxes in all these countries is that giant industrial complexes are being serviced by nations of paupers. For lack of capital, the Communist governments have been paying for their new factories with all the comforts and many of the essentials of living. But this explanation has not made it easier for a worker whose wage has been constantly manipulated to reduce his buying power. Nor is his anger assuaged by the ceaseless "work races" that make the old-time sweatshops seem humane; by the annual exaction of four to six weeks' pay for state bonds; by detailed reports of mass hunger and unemployment in the West; and by the party's assurances that his own living standards are soaring. The sober, indisputable truth is that unrest has been a permanent condition in Eastern Europe since the war, and that whenever the restraints had been lifted even a little—as in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland this spring—the unrest boiled up into violence.

As for the revolt of the intellectuals, it involves fewer people and seeks political goals. Unrest among the writers, journalists and artists has existed for years, as they sought to escape the rigid Communist mold into which they were being forced. However, it was not until this fateful spring that the intellectual discontent finally touched the students—perhaps the most zealously guarded and privileged segment of East European society. The whole story of how the students assumed leadership of the intellectual revolt may never be known in the West, but it started in April with meetings in major Czech and Slovak universities to discuss the broad implications of the debunking of Stalin. In May, the talk was crystallized in an extraordinary petition to the party and the government that challenged the very bases of the regime. The students wanted nothing less than freedom to set up political parties; a re-trial of all political cases; access to Western news and literature; and a more critical approach to all things Soviet.

From Czechoslovakia, the spark bounced to Poland, Rumania and East Germany. The Communist reaction was prompt, stern and uniform. In Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, the Politbureaus held special meetings to discuss the student unrest, rejected the demands of the young "eggheads" and warned the students, writers and journalists that the party would not tolerate their "hostile" notions. In Budapest one even heard the old and ominous appeals to a "revolutionary vigilance." It is very likely that the restless students worry the Communists even more than do the workers. Economic strains can be eased by a larger ration of bacon; political ferment cannot.

WHY did the trouble break out this spring? It is true that the past few months have been harsh in East Europe, with acute shortages of food. But the spring of 1950 was as severe, and the unrest intense.

The answer must lie in the denigration of Stalin, the confusion it caused in the Soviet bloc and the whiff of fresh and liberal air it brought with it. The satellite leaders understood that changes would now be required.

The first, and obvious, move was a relaxation of police controls. In Poland, the strength of the secret

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MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has traveled extensively in Eastern Europe and is a close student of Soviet affairs. Among his books are Japan Diary *and* Journey from the East.

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police was cut by roughly a fifth, though many of the dismissed men were simply transferred to the ordinary police. In Rumania, the party promised to cut the secret police by a third. Following Moscow's example, the "people's democracies" released political prisoners en masse. In Poland, an amnesty freed 30,000 persons, and reduced the sentences of 40,000 others. East Germany said it would free 19,000 prisoners, including at least 600 Social Democrats. In Hungary, several hundred Socialists were released quietly, and the chief justice of the supreme court not only admitted the mass deportations of 1952, but also conceded that they were made illegally.

The new climate—and the signs of intra-party confusion—aroused new hope in East Europe. People in general, and especially the intellectuals, began to feel that they could now safely challenge Communist dogma, the techniques of governing and subservience to Moscow. The workers gathered courage to protest their distress. Under Stalin, such protest would have been suicidal. Now, perhaps one could speak up.

But the trouble was that this eagerness to speak up and to act had come at a painfully inopportune time for both the Soviet and the satellite parties. It had come, in fact, at a moment when Moscow was engaged in a cautious and delicate readjustment of its relationships with other Communist parties and nations.

One hardly need go into the history of how Lenin established the dominance of Moscow over the infant Communist movement throughout the world, and of how Stalin carried this practice on to the point where he could destroy on whim an entire Communist Party (as in Poland). Such dominance was physically possible as long as the Soviet Union was the only Communist state, and all the other Communist parties were illegal, hunted and dependent on Moscow for aid. World War II, however, changed all this. By 1948, there was a solid wall of Communist regimes on Russia's Western flank; a Communist movement was active, or even in a state of open war, from Greece to Indonesia; and the Communists were about to triumph in China.

Yet, it is now clear, I think, that Stalin did not understand the implications of this growth. As he increasingly dominated the Soviet Union, so he insisted on more and more subservience from the non-Soviet Communists. The governments of Eastern Europe were required to apply the Soviet practice without any variation or questioning. Trouble was soon to come. Tito rejected the Soviet pattern, and survived Stalin's wrath. In 1949, Stalin found it necessary to purge the Greek Communist Party. There is now evidence that in 1949-50, Stalin had had his differences with Mao Tse-tung, and lost out.

THE POLICY of trying to run the world from Moscow was self-defeating. It also proved disastrous for Eastern Europe. In applying the Soviet pattern blindly, the satellites devoted themselves to a frantic industrialization without regard to their means. Billions of dollars were sunk in industrial white elephants. Manpower was drained from the villages, with an inevitable drop in food production. For lack of modern machinery and technical know-how, the workers were compelled to work harder and harder. Sometimes, the speed-up was induced with the carrot of higher wages, or extra food, or better housing. But since there were not enough carrots to go around, the whip of fear was employed.

Stalin's heirs have shown a lively awareness of the new situation. At home, they ceased to regard the Soviet Union as a besieged fortress, as Stalin saw it, and instead proclaimed it an industrial giant with powerful allies. They have eased world tensions, and carried out some major internal reforms. They also realized that Stalin's insistence on making each "people's democracy" into a miniature copy of the Soviet Union was producing staggering waste. Somehow, Moscow's relations with the other Communist states and parties had to be altered to provide for less centralization, less adherence to rigid forms and for more autonomy to fit local conditions.

It is clear that the Soviet leaders had been working on this problem all through 1953-55. The new formula was defined publicly only at the party congress in Moscow last February. Its essence was that each Communist-controlled state could develop in accordance with its own conditions, and that dominance by Moscow would be replaced by a federation of autonomous but like-minded Communist parties—a sort of loose Cominform in which all the parties would have an equal voice, but Moscow's voice would be more equal. It took but a few weeks for the new formula to be translated into a relaxation of Stalinist controls in Eastern Europe. The improvement was especially great in Poland, where the tensions had been the greatest. But it is now clear that the Polish leaders erred in gauging the depth of the unrest, or the effect of easing controls.

Poznan showed the Poles—and the other Communist governments as well—the dangers that lurked in too hasty a shift from Stalinism to a happy autonomy. The shift was essential, but it required safeguards and close co-ordination with Moscow. This is the reason why, all through July, one East European delegation had followed another on a pilgrimage to Moscow.

WHAT can the Communists do to cope with the economic and political unrest they face in the "people's democracies"?

To meet the economic revolt, they must provide higher pay, lower prices, more consumer goods, better housing. This is possible only through drastic cuts in the tempo of industrialization. Some such step has already been hinted at in both Poland and East Germany. But the question is whether a Communist state can abandon its emphasis on heavy industrialization without abandoning its basic philosophy. Such a shift was rejected in the Soviet Union itself. Would the Communists do in Eastern Europe what they refused to do in the Soviet Union? What seems more likely at the moment is limited economic concessions, from lower prices and better food supplies to a more moderate juggling of the work "norms."

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In facing the political unrest, the Communists can make no concessions. They cannot abandon their control over the press, or literature, or any other medium of persuasion. They cannot allow free speech, or a free influx of Western ideas, or the emergence of competing new parties. The only likely political changes are those embraced in the new happy phrase, "Socialist legality." This might bring restraints on arbitrary police action; a chance for the innocent to fight the charges against them; the end of the recurring waves of terror; and additional amnesties. But no changes can affect the monopoly on power the Communists enjoy in Eastern Europe.

The fact is that while the relations between Moscow and the "people's democracies" might be modified, the nature of the East European regimes cannot be changed greatly. Any other notion is self-deception.

The insistence on what is still basically the Stalinist policy is not obstinacy. It is a sober recognition that communism cannot abandon or even slow down sharply the pace of industrialization; or slacken the collectivization of land; or share power with potential rivals; or give up complete control over the tools of mass persuasion. The logic of communism is inexorable, and it rejects tolerance for other ideas or for what it scornfully calls "idealism."

The role of Eastern Europe in Moscow's eyes has changed in the past few years. In 1945, Stalin saw this area as a shield guarding the Soviet Union from the West. The H-bomb and the long-range rockets have outdated this conception. But in the past decade this bloc of nations has become important in other respects—as a provider of key raw materials including uranium, an industrial producer, a source of military manpower. It has also become the home of seven "Socialist" states which—whatever the inducement—the Soviets would never abandon to the imperialist wolves. This is a major political axiom that the champions of "liberation" do not always seem to understand.

For if there is a lesson to be drawn from the Poznan riots, it is that communism is too firmly entrenched in Eastern Europe to be toppled by any peace-time pressures. It took the Polish army tanks just five hours to re-establish order in Poznan. Had they failed, the Communist Party could have called on the armed units of the secret police, or on their own "shock troops." And if these had failed too, Soviet troops could have been on the scene within thirty minutes.

The Poznan riots and the widespread unrest elsewhere have caused the East European Communists no end of trouble. They have disturbed the delicate readjustment of inter-party relations. They have exposed the staggering unpopularity of the Communist regimes. They have confused the parties, and forced a hasty change in the scope and pace of planned reforms. They may have even forced the Communist leadership to give up more ground than it had ever expected. But the confusion will not last forever. The Communists of Eastern Europe are now determining in talks with Moscow just how far they need go in their concessions, and what help they can hope for. What hints there are—and there are plenty—indicate that all one can expect is a mixture of relatively minor economic handouts and severe repression of all political discontent. Such measures can, at the very best, only ease the unrest; they do not solve the crisis. But the statesmen of the West might just as well realize that the Communist hold on Eastern Europe can be shaken neither by their own pious declarations nor by pressures from within.

Atoms and Genes . . by C. H. WADDINGTON

THE RISKS to man and to other living creatures, which arise from the fallout from nuclear bomb tests, have been assessed as fully as present knowledge allows in two authoritative reports, one American and one British, which were published early in June. The hazards involved in any utilization of atomic energy are likely to be considerable. The radioactive dust liberated in experimental explosions is only one such hazard, but it is perhaps the most difficult to handle. One can plan in advance for the shielding of power units and for the disposal of their waste products, but explosions throw the dust into the general atmosphere of the earth, and there is little that can be done about the situation except to limit the amount which is liberated in this way.

All the major sources of power which man has tapped—coal and steam, electricity, the internal combustion engine—have also brought society up against new dangers. But there are two ways in which the present technological revolution differs from those of the past. In the first place, we are much more conscious of the closely integrated nature of social life, and realize more vividly that the advent of a new power source will bring about many and profound changes which, though difficult to foresee in detail, can be to some extent predicted and controlled, even if only to a limited extent. Secondly, atomic energy for the first time faces us with dangers which affect not only the present population of the earth but also our remote descendants, who must inherit their biological characteristics through genes (hereditary particles) which are liable to be permanently damaged.

It is for these reasons that the coming age of atom-technics is the

C. H. WADDINGTON, who is professor of animal genetics in the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, was a member of the committee appointed by the British Medical Research Council to make a report on this subject.

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first for which mankind has tried to formulate some advance idea of what is in store. The two reports which have just appeared have been written on the most authoritative level. The American report was prepared by committees appointed by the National Academy of Sciences, with funds provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Their membership amounted to more than 100 scientists, including many of the most distinguished biologists in the country. The British report was the result of a government request to the Medical Research Council for a scientific assessment of the situation. The committee appointed by the Medical Research Council contained only about a score of members, but again there were many internationally recognized authorities among them. Both groups, although sponsored by official bodies and receiving full cooperation from the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission and the British Atomic Energy Research Establishment, were free to express their scientific opinions without official pressure.

WAR MONSTER: Drawing by Valdemar Nissen

Valdemar Nissen was born in 1914 in one of the German border towns that became part of Denmark in 1920. He feels that thus he may have inherited some of the spirit of Grünewald and the Dutch School, while studying art in a country open to English and French influences. In "The Apocalypse," a large calligraphic series from which the drawing above is selected, Mr. Nissen deals not only with war, but with the devouring aspects of the machine in general.

THE TWO reports take somewhat different forms. The American is in two parts; a Report to the Public, phrased in as simple language as the inherent difficulties of the subject allow, and a volume of Summary Reports written at a rather more sophisticated level. A further batch of more technical reports is promised. The British report makes less concessions to popular understanding, and is accompanied by a number of highly technical appendices which can be followed only by those with considerable scientific training.

In spite of these differences in presentation, the conclusions reached by the two groups are strikingly similar. One of the main points which had to be emphasized is the paucity of our information on many crucial questions, but the virtual identity in informed opinion on both sides of the Atlantic gives one considerable confidence that at least the broad outlines of the problem have been adequately envisaged.

The question which has focused public interest onto the peace-time hazards of atomic energy, and which led to the formation of these committees, was undoubtedly that of the damage to the human hereditary material produced by penetrating radiations. As both reports emphasize, the evidence is that all radiation of this kind, however small in quantity, will cause some change in the hereditary particles or genes; and these changes will almost always be harmful. Our aim should therefore be to keep the level of exposure to penetrating radiations as low as possible. It cannot be avoided altogether. Radiations of this kind do not arise only from man-made sources. A natural and inescapable radiation is produced by cosmic rays and the radioactive elements in the earth's crust. The effects of this are in the main harmful; but obviously mankind has been able to take this degree of damage in its stride. The question is, how much more can it accept?

The American and British reports proceed in rather different ways in their attempts to assess what would be the social consequences of a certain extra dose of radiation. The British have tried to keep their feet on the ground, even perhaps to the extent of some indulgence in their national vice of underplaying the hand. A considerable amount of their report is taken up with estimates of the increase in the incidence of certain major categories of human illness which would eventuate within a few generations if we all received a dose of extra radiation sufficient to double the normal rate at which genes mutate to new forms. They pay particular attention to certain types of mental defect, in which heredity is known to be of major importance, and to mental illness, which is the most frequent cause of hospitalization. Their conclusion is that a doubling of the mutation rate would in the first generation lead to an increase of about 3 per cent in the incidence of severe mental defect, and from 1 to 2 per cent in the most important categories of mental illness. If the doubling persisted indefinitely, the incidence of these conditions would slowly rise to about double the present level.

The American report deals more

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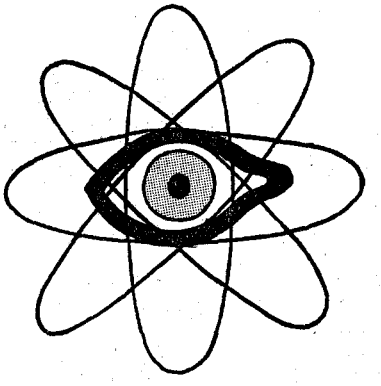
summarily with probable effects on the first few generations, but devotes more attention to the long-term consequences. It admits, however, that it is very difficult to form a clear picture of these later effects. Some geneticists believe that man may be near a critical limit in his reproductive efficiency, so that a comparatively slight increase in the number of harmful genes might prevent reproduction from keeping pace with death rates, and thus lead to a progressively diminishing population. Others, aware that mankind as a whole is still in the throes of an almost explosive increase in numbers, do not feel that this is a real danger. But even if we should be justified in neglecting this particular hazard, both reports make it abundantly clear that the other long-term dangers from the gradual accumulation of harmful genes are very serious indeed.

BOTH REPORTS are very emphatic that we have far too little knowledge to give a firm estimate of the quantity of radiation which would cause a doubling of the mutation rate in man. It is one of the problems on which more research is most urgently needed. However, the American and British committees are in entire agreement on the best estimate which can be made at the present time: the "doubling dose" is most probably between 30 and 80 r-units. The Americans give 5 r as the lowest possibility, and the British argue that it is unlikely to be below 15 r. These estimates may be compared with the level of natural radiation. This varies somewhat from place to place on the earth's surface, and is quoted by the Americans as providing a dose of 4.3 r between birth and the age of thirty, while the British use the figure of 3 r.

It is in the light of these approximate figures that we have to consider the present levels of exposure. The careful measurements which have been made of the radiation resulting from bomb fallout show that, in regions far from the test ranges, the contamination is at present rather small. The American figure is that U. S. residents have, over the last five years, been receiving an extra dose from this source which would, in a thirty-year period, amount to one-tenth of an r unit if bomb-testing continued at the present rate, or perhaps double that dosage under the conditions of 1953 and 1955, when the rate of bomb firing was highest. The British figure is even lower—about a fortieth, instead of a tenth, of an r-unit—the difference being partly due to the greater distance between Britain and the test ranges, and partly to a larger allowance having been made



for such factors as the washing away of radioactive dust in rain.

A MUCH MORE important source of excess radiation turns out to be the medical use of X rays. These have, of course, many extremely beneficial applications; but if such rays reach the sex glands, they can also cause mutations. The American report suggests that on the average the U. S. population is already receiving from this source an additional dose of radiation which is about one-quarter of the natural radiation. The British minimum estimate for the additional dose is lower, about one quarter of the natural radiation, but they admit that this may be a serious underestimate.

One of the strongest recommendations of both committees is that the medical profession should review its current practice in the use of X rays, with a view to keeping as low as possible the dose to the germ cells of people who are likely to have children. The Americans, in fact, suggest that every individual should have a record kept of all penetrating radiation to which he has been exposed. The British seem more impressed by the obvious administrative difficulties of doing this, and recommend such personal records only for those exposed to additional radiation in the course of their work —medical radiologists, workers at atomic energy plants and so on.

Both committees agree almost completely on the public-health regulations which should be introduced to regulate the amount of radiation which specially-exposed categories of people could be allowed to receive. Since much of the genetic damage is of a long-term kind, and spreads gradually through the population before actually producing any harmful effects, a few individuals can with impunity receive considerably more radiation than would be acceptable for the population as a whole. But we are confronted here with a rather novel ethical situation. A man could allow himself to receive a considerable dose of radiation without anticipating any very harmful effects to himself or even to his immediate offspring; but he would then be contributing more than his normal share to the load of hereditary defects which later generations would have to bear. Thus society as a whole must regulate the maximum dose which an individual still capable of reproduction can be allowed to accumulate. The limits suggested by the two committees are almost exactly the same (the main one being a maximum of 50 r units up to the age of thirty years).

It is another question to decide what dose could be accepted for the population as a whole. Both reports emphasize that all penetrating radiation is harmful. It is not a question of there being some limit below which there is no danger. What we have to decide is not how much radiation is harmless, but, admitting it is all damaging, how much damage can we accept? The British do not commit themselves; they say that the data are not sufficient to give a definite figure, which in any case they fear might be taken to justify paying little attention to the control of radiation until the accepted limit is approached. But they do go so far as to guess that, when we know enough to name a figure, it will prove to be not much more than twice the natural radiation dose (i.e., on their figure 6 r, up to

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thirty years of age). The Americans are more forthright, and a bit less cautious; they name a figure of 10 r up to age thirty.

These figures are pretty close to one another, and it is clear from what has been said above that we are already not too far away from the limits which these committees have considered reasonable. Undoubtedly the committees have been, quite rightly, on the cautious side. It may be that mankind could put up with considerably more radiation than they suggest; but maybe it could not. Until we know, we have to take care. But the main danger in times of peace seems to be coming, not from the development of atomic weapons, but from some of the other uses which are being found for penetrating radiations.

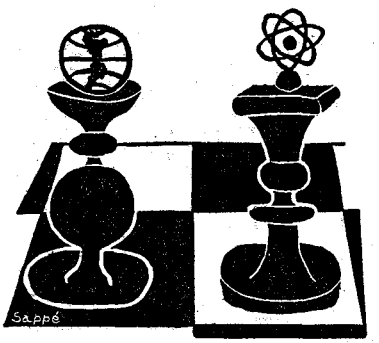
THERE is, however, one special type of danger which arises from bomb fallout, which is important enough to demand special consideration. This is not a genetic effect, appearing in later generations, but an immediate hazard to those living now. One of the products of atomic explosions is a radioactive isotope of the element strontium, known as strontium-90. Strontium is chemically similar to calcium, and like it, becomes accumulated in bone. When the radioactive isotope locates there, it tends to give rise to bone cancers. At the sort of doses which now come into question, cancers arise in a small percentage of those contaminated, and they do so only after many years. However, the hazard is a real one. Unfortunately again, we have rather little precise knowledge from which to estimate its importance. The information available has been used to fix an internationally agreed maximum dose which is allowable to industrial workers exposed to the substance. At present the amount of strontium-90 in the fallout is such that the highest concentrations it has been found to deposit in bone are only about one-thousandth of this. But if the rate of bomb-firing increases, this concentration will rise, and the British report suggests that it is likely to reach an unacceptable level sooner than will the genetic effects.

There is, perhaps, some real difference of opinion between the two committees in this connection. The Americans state that there seems no reason for not allowing a universal strontium burden of one-tenth of the internationally agreed permissible dose for industrial workers. The British argue that we know too little about the rate of uptake of the substance by the bones of actively growing children, or of its cancer-producing effects in such young people. They urge that the problem would begin to call for urgent consideration if the concentration of radio-strontium in bone showed signs of rising greatly beyond one-hundredth of the permissible level; that is only ten times the level we have already reached.

The careful examination of the evidence, which has been carried out by responsible scientists on both sides of the Atlantic, has made it rather clear that the testing of atomic and nuclear bombs, at the rate at which it is being carried out at present, does not present a major danger on a world-wide scale to the genetic endowment of the human race. It is, as we have seen, to some extent harmful, and is to be deplored; but it is less harmful, genetically, than some of the other manifestations of the atomic age, such as the medical use of X rays. This conclusion has probably surprised many people. Speaking personally, when I was asked to serve on the British committee, I had no definite idea how the figures were going to come out. The only thing I was convinced of was that the subject was one of great potential importance, and that intelligent opinion was absolutely justified in insisting that it must be gone into in detail and the results made available to the public. It was quite a pleasant surprise to find, when this was done, that the bomb-tests are at present a relatively small danger to the long-term hereditary qualities of the race.

The investigations have, however, also pointed up some of the dangers of a non-genetic kind. In particular, there is the evidence about the production of radioactive strontium. My own feeling is that this is probably the first problem with which we shall be faced. As was said above, there is some difference between the British and American committees in their estimate of the level of contamination which should be regarded as tolerable, the British being the more cautious. I cannot claim to be expert in this particular aspect of the general problem, but from the arguments I have heard, my opinion is that the British were justified, as things stand at present, in laying rather more emphasis on the danger than the Americans did.

Many people have, I think, been hoping that the biological dangers of bomb tests would provide grounds on which governments could be forced, by public opinion, to give up the development of nuclear weapons. I have always felt that this was just a pious hope of finding a way to circumvent the major political problem. So long as nations believe that they may have to go to war they will produce the most powerful weapons they can devise. It is only when the possibility of a resort to war is ruled out that re-



striction of weapons will follow. In my opinion, nations will never be persuaded to abandon warfare on account of the long-term and gradual dangers which may be inherent in the development of weapons in peace time. But the knowledge of the catastrophic destruction which would result from a nuclear war is an altogether more powerful argument. It is the recognition of this, by both sides, which has led to the present relaxation of tension, and is gradually preparing a situation in which we may conclude that it is not worthwhile continuing to pay the biological price, which is substantial even if not outrageous for peace-time weapon development.

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INSIDE THE FRENCH LEFT

Thorez Fights the Future . . by PIERRE HERVE

Paris

WHEN the fourteenth annual congress of the French Communist Party met at Le Havre late last month, those who had expected the meeting to reflect recent changes in Russia were disappointed. The proceedings turned out to be very much like those of earlier congresses. Maurice Thorez' four-hour speech contained but a weak echo of the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party and offered neither new perspectives nor original slogans to the party faithful. As at earlier meetings, the speakers who followed Thorez to the podium limited themselves to paraphrases of his report and heaped praise upon the veteran party leader. Their repeated references to events of ten or twenty years ago, such as the Liberation or the Popular Front of 1936, represented attempts to recapture the past and gave evidence of how much this party has aged.

The monotonously smooth proceedings at Le Havre were observed by numerous foreign Communist visitors, including an important delegation from Russia headed by M. Souslov, a member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee. Addressing the gathering, Souslov paid tribute to the French party leaders and particularly to "your comrade Maurice Thorez, who is also a very dear friend of ours."

This expression of support suggests that, for the moment at least, Soviet leaders regard the process of de-Stalinization as an operation for internal use only and not to be applied to the Communist parties of capitalist countries. In the course of his report, the "very dear friend" Thorez declared that "the criticism of the cult of personality which surrounded Stalin should not be applied mechanically to our party, which has never suffered from such defects." Party members who had asked the leadership to engage in self-criticism were denounced for their "opportunistic and destructive spirit."

Warm and pressing invitations were extended to the Socialists to form a united front — currently the major theme of the French Communist Party — but it was significant that such appeals were made by a leadership and a party that remain faithful to Stalinist methods. The formal invitation to the Socialists was delivered by Jeanette Vermeersch, wife of Thorez and an ultra-Stalinist.

IF ANY within the top leadership of the party had intended, however timidly, to question the role played by Thorez and his team, the conspicuous presence of the Soviet visitors was enough to squelch them. The high command is aware of the danger represented by deviations within the ranks and has taken steps to suppress these differences. At the congress, all the old members of the party's central committe and political bureau were re-elected; major changes in personnel might have aroused suspicions and crystallized discontent within the ranks. Twenty-eight carefully chosen new members were added to the central committee as substitutes. The political bureau was reinforced by the addition of three new members and it was announced that this organ "will exercise collective leadership in all spheres of party policy and activity."

At the same time, changes in the composition of the party secretariat, an executive organ which controls almost the entire apparatus of the party and is charged with the task of implementing its decisions, have reinforced Thorez' power. The old secretariat was made up of Thorez, Jacques Duclos, François Billoux, Etienne Fajon and Marcel Servin. The new body no longer includes Billoux and Fajon, who have fallen from grace for left- and right-wing deviations respectively. They remain members of the political bureau, but they have been replaced in the secretariat by three new officials whose loyalty to the leadership is guaranteed. Differences of opinion may be aired within the political bureau of the French Communist Party, but effective leadership continues to rest in the hands of Thorez and his faithful lieutenant, Marcel Servin.

The decisions which were made at the party congress show that Thorez and his team fear the growth of a real opposition. As yet, however, this opposition has not taken an organized form, there is only an ill-defined resistance to the leadership on the right and the left which is restricted to small groups of party members.

The Twentieth Congress shocked Communist intellectuals in France. Khrushchev's speech convinced many party members that their doubts about and dislike for certain aspects of Stalinism were well founded. If the Socialists and other left-wing groups had adopted a more positive and sympathetic attitude towards the changes which have taken place in the USSR, the repercussions within the French Communist Party might have been more profound. But the major concern of the Socialists was to exploit Russian developments in order to engage in polemics against the Communists. The Socialists said in effect: "We told you so." Many Communists were convinced that the purpose of these attacks was the destruction of their party, and under the circumstances every demand for a democratization of the party appeared to them as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. It is

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PIERRE HERVE, former Communist deputy in the French parliament and associate editor of L'Humanité, *was expelled from the party last January after publishing* La Revolution et les Fetiches, *a sharp criticism of the party's ideology. Twenty-four hours after his expulsion, Khrushchev delivered his famous speech, confirming many of Hervé's charges against the party.*

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for this reason that the struggle against Stalinist "fetishism" within the party has won only limited support, primarily among intellectuals.

Meanwhile, the war in Algeria has provoked an even more serious debate within party ranks. The vote of the Communist deputies for the special powers in Algeria which the Mollet government had requested was widely criticized, particularly among workers, and has caused a real division. One faction has repudiated the support to Mollet, urging direct action against the government's military measures and systematic opposition to the policy of the Socialist leaders. Another faction has approved the action taken by the Communist parliamentary bloc because its spokesmen regard a rapprochement with the Socialists as essential to the unity of the working-class movement.

From this and other causes a left and a right have grown up within the ranks of the Communist Party, but the left is itself divided. One left group is composed of members who are influenced by the Trotskyists and tend towards complete repudiation of the Stalinist period. Another is made up of Communists who refuse to break with Stalinism and who remain hostile to the new party line, especially the theory of peaceful transition to socialism. Last year the Congress of the Confédération Nationale de Travail debated the possibility of securing economic reforms within the framework of the capitalist system. Opposing consideration of these reforms was a spokesman for Thorez, who with much fanfare had just discovered the "law" of the absolute pauperization of the working class, a vulgar simplification of Marxist theory designed largely for propaganda purposes. However, a number of Communist intellectuals and union leaders refused to accept Thorez' schematic views, and they have been denounced as "reformists" by the extreme left-wing faction, by the Trotskyists and by Thorez' spokesman.

As for the right-wing opposition, it is at once more liberal, more tolerant and less proletarian in its orientation than the left wing. This group has sought to reach some agreement with democratic, progressive and Socialist movements; its members heartily approved the denunciation of Stalinist excesses, for they had suffered in silence during the violent years of "Zdhanovism" in the arts, letters and sciences; and they hope that the French Communist Party will abandon its negative attitude toward national problems. The right-wing opposition is ideologically more consistent but less well organized than its left-wing counterpart. It is hesitant about challenging the leadership of the party, trusting in a simple change of personnel to be arranged by Soviet leaders. Consequently, it was particularly this opposition on the right which received a setback at Le Havre.

TO UNDERSTAND its significance, the fourteenth congress must be considered in the light of recent international developments. From the end of January to the end of June the leaders of the several Communist Parties outside Russia were indecisive. At one moment the French leaders considered adopting a policy of "Titoism in reverse" because the process of de-Stalinization appeared to them to be going too fast and too far. Then, at the beginning of July, the parties were called to order. On the second of July, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party published a resolution which marked a retreat from the Khrushchev speech. Togliatti, who had questioned certain aspects of the Soviet system, was criticized, while a benediction was accorded to Eugene Dennis, Thorez and Mao Tse-tung. On July 16, an article in *Pravda* blamed the intra-party disputes in Hungary and violence in Poland on "imperialist intervention." This was very likely a tactical move designed to strengthen the hands of Stalinist diehards. Presumably there are Soviet leaders who appreciate the difficulties of checking a movement which may get out of control and whose future developments they have good reason to fear.

So far, the leadership in France has not loosened its grip on the party, but the significance of divergences within the movement is that the process of de-Stalinization is irreversible. During his speech before the congress at Le Havre, Marcel Servin declared: "We are keeping our powder dry in order to smash the new attacks against us which cannot fail to develop." But in a period of thaw it is difficult to protect powder against humidity.

Brotherly Love

A Little Leter to the White Citizens Councils of the South

In line of what my folks say in Montgomery,
In line of what they're teaching about love,
When I reach out my hand, will *you* take it—
Or cut it off and leave a nub above?

If I found it in my heart to love you,
And if I thought I really could,
If I said, "Brother, I forgive you,"
I wonder, would it do *you* any good?

So long, *so long* a time you've been calling
Me *all* kinds of names, pushing me down—
I been swimming with my head deep under water,
And you wished I would stay under till I drown.

But I didn't! I'm still swimming! Now you're mad
Because I won't ride in the back end of your bus.
When I answer, "Anyhow, I'm gonna love you,"
Still and yet *you* want to make a fuss.

Now listen, white folks!
In line with Reverend King down in Montgomery—
Also because the Bible says I must—
I'm gonna love you—*yes, I will! Or BUST!*

LANGSTON HUGHES

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Class and Delinquency

YOUTH. The Years from Ten to Sixteen. By Arnold Gesell, Frances L. Ilg and Louise Bates Ames. Harper and Brothers. $5.95.

YOUTH IN DANGER. By Robert C. Hendrickson with Fred J. Cook. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.95.

DELINQUENCY. The Juvenile Offender in America Today. By Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn. Random House. $7.95.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. Edited by Grant S. McClellan. The H. W. Wilson Company. $2.

By Milton L. Barron

"I SEE no hope for the future of our people if they are to be dependent upon the frivolous youth of today, for certainly all youth are reckless beyond words. . . . When I was a boy, we were taught to be discreet and respectful of our elders, but the present youth are exceedingly wise and impatient of restraint."

The Greek poet Hesiod wrote these all-too-familiar words of despair almost 3,000 years ago. It may be small comfort to know that our contemporary anxiety concerning "frivolous youth" also plagued adults 900 years before Christ. But historical perspective of this sort does serve to encourage a more realistic appraisal of the problems of children and youth in the present era.

Adolescents may have been troublesome even in ancient times, yet the "stress and strain" of growing up is far from being a universal phenomenon. Cross-cultural research shows that it is remarkably insignificant among non-literate and rural societies outside the Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian traditions. On the other hand, problem behavior such as delinquency is characteristic of past and present urban and industrial cultures. As Margaret Mead demonstrated so convincingly in her classic *Coming of Age in Samoa,* delinquency is the price we pay for a motley civilization with all its contradictions and moral dilemmas.

In the United States there have arisen two systematic approaches to an understanding of the problems of adolescence. One has concentrated on "deviant" behavior, particularly juvenile delinquency, defining its subject matter in terms of the delinquency legislation enacted ever since 1899. The other, almost as old as the first, began with G. Stanley Hall's notable book, *Adolescence,* published in 1904. Its focus of interest and study is "normal" behavior, and it maintains that adolescence, the dynamic period that threads its way through late childhood and early youth, is a distinctive field for scientific investigation and interpretation.

BUT precisely what is meant by delinquency and what is normal behavior in adolescence? To whom do these terms apply, and why? The three most recent books on delinquency by Hendrickson (*Youth in Danger*), Bloch and Flynn (*Delinquency*), and McClellan (*Juvenile Delinquency*), and the long-awaited book by Gesell, Ilg and Ames on patterns of normal growth and development from age ten to sixteen shed some light on these questions.

Hendrickson's book is his report as the former chairman of the Senate Subcommitte on Juvenile Delinquency; Bloch and Flynn, a sociologist and a social worker respectively, collaborated on a definitive textbook on the problem; and McClellan edited some of the more provocative articles and essays on delinquency that had appeared originally in recent issues of American magazines. All three volumes cover a statistically impressive proportion of adolescents. The estimate is that 1,250,000 American boys and girls—one in eighteen of the population between ten and seventeen years of age—will become known to the authorities for their delinquent acts before 1956 ends. One third of these, 435,000, will be involved in acts alleged to be so serious that they will be brought into court.

THE AUTHORS admit, nevertheless, that there is a persistent ambiguity in the legal meaning of the term delinquency. A list of abbreviated definitions of acts or conditions included under the heading of delinquency in the juvenile-court laws of the United States at the present time would cover not only violations of any law or ordinance, but also such elusive and subjective categories as immoral and indecent conduct, conscious association with vicious or immoral persons, growing up in idleness, wandering in the streets at night, incorrigibility, habitual use of vile and obscene language, refusing to obey parents or guardians and deportment injurious to oneself or others.

Such ambiguity and subjectivity in the definition of acts of delinquency in law have not been without serious consequence in practice. The enforcement of delinquency laws has evolved into a system of social control leveled primarily against the weak and the vulnerable in our society. Comparable offenses by children in higher social strata are, for the most part, either overlooked, interpreted differently or handled unofficially. According to Bloch and Flynn, those groups in our society that are employed mostly in marginal and unskilled occupations, that are handicapped by social barriers are the ones that consistently find their children selected for the bulk of the official cases of delinquency. A personality profile of apprehended delinquents offered by one of McClel-

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MILTON L. BARRON *is the author of* The Juvenile in Delinquent Society *and other books on American social problems.*

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lan's contributing authors brings out the toughness and other stereotypical traits associated with the lower social strata. Delinquency, in short, has acquired the connotation of lower-class behavior. Since the "stress and strain" of modern urban life may be thought to fall most heavily on the lower economic groups, a higher incidence of delinquency could be predicted there. Nevertheless, the almost complete class identification of this type of abnormal behavior is on its face suspect, and has been seriously questioned by studies set up specifically to investigate this aspect of delinquency.

The distortions of the problem, based as they are on selective application of ambiguous delinquency legislation, are corrected in part by the authors. Hendrickson's investigating committee, for example, found that in Oklahoma City problem behavior was typical of adolescents whose families have too much rather than too little. Children from the so-called "best" homes were reported to have committed more than their share of offenses. Even so, "white-collar" delinquency is still diverted from official attention in the majority of American communities.

BY far the most significant and impressive book on adolescence published recently is *Youth: The Years from Ten to Sixteen* by Gesell, Ilg and Ames. It completes their trilogy that includes *The Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* (1943) and *The Child from Five to Ten* (1946). Whereas delinquency is assumed to be a problem mostly of the lower class, the prevailing assumption in Gesell's painstaking studies is that normal behavior of American boys and girls is best found in the middle classes. "We have traced the course of development of a group of normal youths in the concrete setting of their home, school and urban community," say the co-authors. Yet nowhere is there an attempt to define what constitutes normal behavior or why it should be studied in the middle classes and not in others.

A total of 165 children living in New Haven and its suburbs were the subjects of study over a span of twelve years. The socio-economic status of their families was generally superior, with a preponderance of the fathers in professional, semiprofessional, managerial and skilled occupations. Parents in similar positions will undoubtedly leaf through the book, anxiously trying to determine how closely their own children of ten to sixteen approximate the patterns of "normal" growth and development clinically described. They will find for each chronological year information on motor characteristics, personal hygiene, emotional expression, fears and dreams, self and sex, interpersonal relations, play and pastimes, school life, ethical sense and philosophic outlook.

There is a normal cycle of development from ten to sixteen years of age, claims Gesell, just as there is in the earlier age groups. Each year of growth brings out characteristic traits. Ten, like age five, is typically an age of balanced poise, while eleven, like five-and-a half to six, is "loosening up," "snapping old bonds"; twelve is more positive in mood, smoother in relationships. Thirteen pulls inward; fourteen thrusts out; fifteen specifies and organizes; sixteen again achieves a golden mean. These rhythmic sequences make sense, the Gesell team maintains, for growth combines integration and differentiation, comparable to an intricate weaving and braiding process in which multitudinous strands are drawn into coordinated patterns.

BUT there is no word in the New Haven study concerning delinquent behavior. Perhaps the middle-class adolescent in that community differs from those reported to be actively delinquent in Oklahoma City. More likely, there is an important lesson to be learned from another study by Professor Porterfield of the University of Texas. He showed a striking prevalence of anti-social and illegal behavior among middle-class youths who are seldom apprehended on delinquency charges. When he compared the offenses of 2,049 cases of delinquents in the Fort Worth, Texas, area with the admitted conduct of several hundred students at three colleges of northern Texas, he found that all of these economically and socially privileged students had

The Hag

The old story went that the cajoling hag
Fattened the pretty princess within a fence
Of barbs the spiders poked their eight eyes out in
Even, the points were so close, fattened her
With pastry pies and would not let her incline
One inch toward the threshold from the table
Lest she slip off the hag's dish and exchange
The hag's narrow intestine for the wide world.
And this hag had to lie in a certain way
At night lest the horrible angular black hatred
Poke through her side and surprise the pretty princess
Who was well-deceived by this posture of love.

Now here is an old hag, as I see,
Has got this story direly drastically wrong,
Who has dragged her pretty daughter home from college,
Who has locked up her pretty eyes in a brick house
And has sworn her pretty mouth shall rot like fruit
Before the world shall make a jam of it
To spread on every palate. And so saying,
She must lie perforce at night in a certain way
Lest the heart break through her side and burst the walls
And surprise her daughter with an extravagance
Of tearful love, who finds it easier
To resign her hope of a world wide with love
And even to rot in the dark, but easier under
Nine bolts of spite than on one leash of love.

TED HUGHES

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committed one or more of the very same offenses. Rarely, however, had they been charged for delinquency.

Why is it that selective perception places the normal behavior of adolescents in one social class and delinquency in another? The most credible answer of social science is that the common tendency in research and investigation is to impute to behavior a significance measured by the researcher's or investigator's own cultural norms. Inasmuch as the norms of educators, legislators and preachers are middle-class in American society, it is logical that the definition and application of normal and delinquent behavior patterns have taken shape in the manner found in these newly published books. It is the responsibility of social science to expose this deeply ingrained point of departure so that more satisfactory perspectives on adolescence and its problems may be possible in the books that follow.

Through the Skin

OVER THE BRIDGE. By Richard Church. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

By May Sarton

WE READ autobiography for the same reason some of us may feel impelled to write it: because by poring over the pool of childhood and slowly coming to see again the lost treasures on the floor of the mind, we recapture not innocence but revelation, and so come to discover who we are. We have had three remarkable autobiographies by English poets of roughly the same era, the late nineteenth century: Sir Herbert Read's, Edwin Muir's and now Richard Church's. The first two dealt with childhoods in remote country places, and it was not surprising that they had about them the air of Eden, the natural premechanized world. But Richard Church was born in Battersea, just across the river from Chelsea. This is a city childhood where schools are like prisons and the kinds of magic (the lamplighter lighting the lamps with his tall pole, the life on the Thames, the church bells ringing, or two little boys carrying a bowl of goldfish across Battersea Bridge on a bitter winter evening) are man made.

"If I had not faith!" Mr. Church exclaims at the end of a chapter. "In that phrase lies the motive of my journey over the bridge of time into the past, and the setting up of a transparent theatre into whose fluid element I can stare at the living creatures evoked there, almost forgetting that I am myself one of them." It is by an act of faith that he is able to dip a mature sensibility into the waters of the past and recreate for us this child with an extraordinary capacity for direct experience, a child who, we are told, "thought through his skin as a cat does." We experience a series of collisions between an intense inner world of revery and emotion with the outer world as it gradually comes into focus. One of these collisions happens when the boy is finally given a pair of glasses: "I had to cling to my mother's arm to prevent myself being carried away in the flood as the pavements rushed at me, and people looked up with their teeth like tusks, their lips luscious, their eyes bolting out of their heads . . . ." There is the collision between small Richard Church and time and space when he first observed that he saw an axe chopping before he heard the sound; and there is the enormous collision when he suddenly found he could read: "It is an understatement to say that I began to read; I stepped into another life."

THESE moments of revelation are one thread that runs through the book. The other, equally rich and intense, is the thread of family life. We come to know this family as if it were our own — the buoyant, limited, loving father whose great dream was to propel his wife and sons on immense bicycling ordeals into the country; a post-office clerk by profession, he watched his brilliant sons outgrow him. We come to know Richard's awe-inspiring older brother, whose whole personality closed like an oyster round his passion for music, for mathematics or for whatever had seized him at the moment. But the figure whose presence makes this work of art a tragic and joyful celebration is Richard Church's mother. The ardor, the intensity, the bubble of iridescent joy this remarkable woman sustained within her, shines and illuminates the whole rich experience, and the more poignantly that we must watch

MAY SARTON is a distinguished poet and teacher. Her most recent book is the novel Faithful Are the Wounds.

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her die. No one comes to mind, except Proust, who has probed with such devotion, honesty and exquisite tact into a boy's love for his mother. And it is this evocation which lifts the book to its special grace. We know too much about this; we have analyzed it too mercilessly in recent years to come to it now with an innocent eye. But Richard Church for a few hours, gives it back to us, for he has moved from innocence to wisdom, and we can lay aside our scientific obtuse knowledge for a moment and rest here in the healing light of the spirit.

New Art Books

ANCIENT ITALY. By Gisela M. A. Richter. University of Michigan Press. $15. These lectures, plentifully illustrated by more than 300 half-tone cuts, survey what is known of sculpture, painting and work in such subsidiary arts as coins and gem-cutting in Italy, from archaic Greek times to the end of the Roman Empire. In between come the Etruscans and the contributions of various almost forgotten Italic peoples. An enormous amount of scholarship is summarized and presented with utmost clarity to the studious reader. The degree to which Greek artists dominated Roman Imperial production may come as a surprise.

ART TREASURES OF THE NATIONAL; LONDON. By Sir Philip Hendy. Abrams. $15. A beautifully made book brilliantly illuminated with 100 color plates of works selected from what is usually regarded as the finest collection of paintings in the world, judged in terms of quality and of coverage of all the major European schools. Sir Philip Hendy, director of the gallery, first provides an interesting study of the formation of the collection and the history of the building in which it is housed; this section is illustrated with line drawings. His comments on the plates are a model of perceptiveness, taste and professional competence. The coverage begins with Duccio (Sienese, died 1319) and ends with John Constable's sketch-masterpiece, *Weymouth Bay*, painted in 1816. Alphabetically it runs from Fra Angelico to Roger van der Weyden.

THE LETTERS OF PETER PAUL RUBENS. By Ruth Saunders Magurn. Harvard. $10. This is the first complete translation into English of Rubens' voluminous correspondence, which touches upon the manifold facets of a fabulously busy and productive life. While diplomatic affairs receive the major emphasis, students of Rubens' art will find much of interest, for the two were intricately interwoven. The author is Assistant Curator of Prints at Fogg Museum, Harvard.

GIORGIO DI CHIRICO. By James Thrall Soby. Museum of Modern Art. $7.50. A revision of, and supplement to, the author's book of 1941, *The Early Chirico*. As Soby makes very clear, De Chirico's early work (prior to 1918) is with few exceptions the work by which he will be remembered favorably. The story of De Chirico's attempt to deny this work—running all the way from what Soby considers false denials of authorship to subsequent false datings—is one of the more ironic bypaths of the struggle of modern art to overcome the dead hand of tradition. For De Chirico has become a bitter enemy of the visual revolution which he himself helped to establish and "has tried with every means at his power to obliterate his own brilliant youth."

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE. By Talbot Hamlin. Oxford. $15. A scholarly and readable account of the career of the originator of Greek Revival architecture in the United States and one of our most gifted designers. Latrobe (1764-1820) overcame formidable opposition in course of altering architectural history. Baltimore Cathedral, the Bank of Pennsylvania and the south wing of the Capitol in Washington are among his major achievements. The book is profusely illustrated.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

TELEVISION

Anne W. Langman

LITTLEST viewers have been turning out clay birthday cakes, cardboard birthday cakes, even cake birthday cakes because *Ding Dong School* had a 1000th birthday the other day. For almost four years the NBC school bell has rung each weekday morning and teacher "Miss Frances" has enraptured small fry with a half hour of gentle activity and quiet talk. "Oooohhh—what fun we can have with finger paints. Do *you* like to paint like this?" ". . . and just look at *this*—look how the lima beans have grown since yesterday. We are going to have some *real leaves* on our lima beans soon, aren't we?" Small heads at home nod in agreement and you can be sure that mom is going to have to grow lima beans in a jar.

Producer and star of *Ding Dong School* is Dr. Frances Horwich. Twenty-five years ago she was a first grade teacher in Evanston, Illinois. Her educational career was not unusual for an energetic, intelligent person with an enthusiasm for teaching; she steadily climbed the pedagogical ladder, picking up an MA at Teachers College and a PhD at Northwestern University on the way. Then, quite unexpectedly, came an opportunity to do a TV show on a local Chicago station. Today "Miss Frances" is a national institution. *Ding Dong School* has a wintertime audience estimated at 8,500,000 preschool children and their parents. A *Ding Dong School* PTA is being organized in each of the 109 cities which receive the show. Members get a monthly news bulletin "From Miss Frances' Desk" in which Dr. Horwich expands her educational principles. There are *Ding Dong School* toys, books, records. And even in this day of award and citation madness, the show and its star have received more than the average share of honors. Dr. Horwich has been all kinds of "Woman of the Year"; a graduate fellowship has been established at Teachers College in her honor.

HER SHOW is a success because she is a good teacher—and a bit of a ham. Either quality alone would not be significant or unusual, combined they are both. *Ding Dong School* is carefully constructed on sound educational principles with a decent respect for its young audience and it

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is skilfully and entertainingly executed. I watched "Miss Frances" making a clay animal on the show one day; the body, the head, then four legs. "Where shall we put the tail?" she asked patting a long strip into shape affectionately. "Shall we put it here? or there? or there?" I was ready to turn her off, clay and all, when my young daughter (old enough to be a *Ding Dong School* alumna) shouted "THERE!" This spontaneous response was no accident. Dr. Horwich believes that participation is important and designs the entire show for easy contact with her audience. Her voice and movements are slow-paced, with considerable repetition and nothing to startle or to disturb the easy fluidity. She uses simple nursery school materials, occasional guests—a clown, a dancer, an artist, a few trips to a fire house or the zoo. She likes to leave the children with ideas of things to do later in the day, and with anticipation of tomorrow's show. These kindergarten cliff-hangers are explained to parents in the last five minutes of the program, along with bits of advice, encouragement, philosophy.

DING DONG SCHOOL also has sponsor appeal, and its commercials are at present an unsolved problem. Dr. Horwich does them herself, in the same tone of voice and approach she employs for the rest of the show, and this skilful persuasion rouses the ire of a good many parents who would perfer not to be badgered into buying what Miss Frances says is good. It does seem a questionable use of the faith of the young, established so painstakingly along correct educational principles. How early in life must the American mind understand commercialism? Dr. Horwich has skilfully created the illusion that she is just a nursery-school teacher, but she is not just that: she's a nursery-school teacher on TV, and subject to its commercial entanglements and pressures. It need not be this way forever, and if viewers feel strongly enough about it they can use their own kind of pressure on "Miss Frances" and her sponsors. In the early days of the program she announced her sponsors to the parents in a post script to the program.

A year ago, Dr. Horwich was appointed Supervisor of Children's Programs for NBC. In a recent survey of children's shows, she found that it is foolish to expect a script writer, however skilful, to turn out a good program for children. Education is a profession and no one untrained in it can possibly meet the requirements that thoughtful educators and parents set today for development of the mind of the child.

"Why," asked Dr. Horwich, "would you expect a fine performer, assigned to a new children's program, to censor himself from saying 'I'll wrench your arm out of its socket', as he did on a recent show?" The lasting effects of such statements on impressionable young minds are not part of the average entertainer's knowledge. Another young man, thinking to amuse his viewers, simultaneously munched peanuts and talked on his show and was avalanched with reproaches from mothers. "A pretense at understanding children doesn't hold up in front of the camera. It must come from within, from the sureness born of training and experience in the teaching profession," Dr. Horwich says. "TV can be a tool for better living, just as the classroom. Children need all kinds of help to know how to live happily in their family and in the neighborhood which is their world."

Experimental childrens' shows are being launched at the NBC-owned Chicago TV station under Dr. Horwich's supervision. Changes and refinements in current network shows and plans for two or three new ones are under way. Whatever may be their merit or success as entertainment, they will be based on a solid ground of professional knowledge and trusted for their respect for and understanding of the mind of the child.

RECORDS

B. H. Haggin

SEVERAL months ago I discussed the first six records that had been issued singly of the Angel recording of Gieseking's performances of all of Mozart's piano music. Since then the remaining five have come out; and like the others they acquaint us with a number of unfamiliar pieces—some only exercises of an exquisite craftsmanship, some with impressive effect as works of art. Gieseking's performances continue to be finely chiseled but often deficient in energy and sustained tension; and again he plays some of the unfamiliar pieces with more life than the familiar sonatas.

On record 35074 are two of Mozart's most remarkable pieces, the Rondo K.511 and Gigue K.574. The rondo is unique in the chromaticism and expressive intensity of the exquisitely contoured principal melody and its recurring variants; the gigue equally so in its rhythmic intricacy. The Sonata K.281 is uninteresting; but there are two engaging unfamiliar pieces, the Sonata K.547a and Variations K.398.

Record 35075 offers the fine Variations K.455 on *Unser dummer Pöbel meint,* and the unfamiliar Variations K.264, which are equally good, with one of Mozart's wonderful syncopated and chromatic variations in minor and an extraordinary Adagio. In addition there are the engaging Sonata K.283, which has a superb finale, and the Sonata K.576, in which one hears some of Mozart's most developed, most complex writing for the piano.

No. 35076 has the magnificent Fantasia K.396; the fine Sonata K.332, which has another superb finale; the engaging "small sonata for beginners," K.545; and two unfamiliar pieces: the Variations K.354, of which Variations 4, 8 and 10 are outstanding; and the Variations K.460, with good writing in the later pages.

On 35077 are the fine Sonatas K.330 and 309, and three unfamiliar pieces: the Variations K.352, of which Variations 4, 5 and 7 are outstanding; the Rondo K.485, entirely and interestingly unusual in its pro-

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cedures; the Capriccio K.395, a strange piece unlike any other by Mozart, reminiscent of Bach and implying a larger scale than its actual small one.

Of the unfamiliar pieces on 35078 the Sonata Movement K.400 is charming; the Sonata Movement and Minuet K.498a are good; the Six Minuets and Trios K.315a are uninteresting. And the better-known German Dances K.509, which I found pleasantly inconsequential in their orchestral versions, are less attractive as arranged for piano.

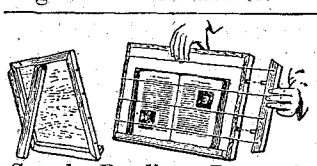
The Rondo K.511 and Sonata K.330 are heard again, together with the powerful Fantasia K.475 and Sonata K.457, on London LL-1399, played by Backhaus. For the most part his playing is graceless, gruff and hard-toned; hence one is unprepared for the delicacy and charm of his treatment of the first two movements of K.330—though I must add that the charm involves constant changes of pace that create a longing for a little steadiness.

IN addition London LL-1164 offers Mozart performances by Katchen—of the Sonata K.333, with its fine opening movement; the best-known K.331, with its impressive minuet movement; and the "small" Sonata K.545 again. They have grace and beautiful-sounding treatment of the piano; their defect is Katchen's practice of having a passage begin with energy and sharp contour and then fall away into a pallid whisper, which sometimes continues for an extensive section.

London LL-1233 has a performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 111 that is made impressively effective by the steadiness, directness and sustained power of Katchen's playing; and one of the Sonata Op. 57 *(Appassionata)* that is made ineffective by his lingering and fussing and melting now over this phrase and now over that.

Solomon's performance of the first movement of the *Appassionata* on RCA Victor LM-1964 is made erratic by his whipping up of tempo; and the second movement suffers from being played Adagio instead of Andante con moto; but the finale comes off satisfactorily. There is the whipping up of tempo again in the first movement of Op. 31 No. 2; but the second movement is played admirably, and the finale also is done well.

All of Chopin's Nocturnes are played by Istomin on the two records of Columbia SL-226; and the first of two similar London records, LL-1281, has Peter Katin's performances of Opp. 9, 15, 27 and 32. I am strongly for the "direct cantilena" we are told Chopin himself demanded in the performance of his music, and strongly against the traditional mannered style in which the two pianists play the Nocturnes. But Katin employs that style with a delicacy, a restraint, a refinement which I prefer to Istomin's high-powered and often violent operation, and which certainly is more suitable in writing like the tranquilly reflective opening of Op. 32 No. 1. And this difference is magnified by the difference in recorded piano sound: not only does Katin use a mellower-toned European piano, but its sound is reproduced with its true balance of treble and bass; whereas the sound of Istomin's brighter-toned American Steinway comes off the record with stepped-up treble and reduced bass that make it not only brighter but shallower.



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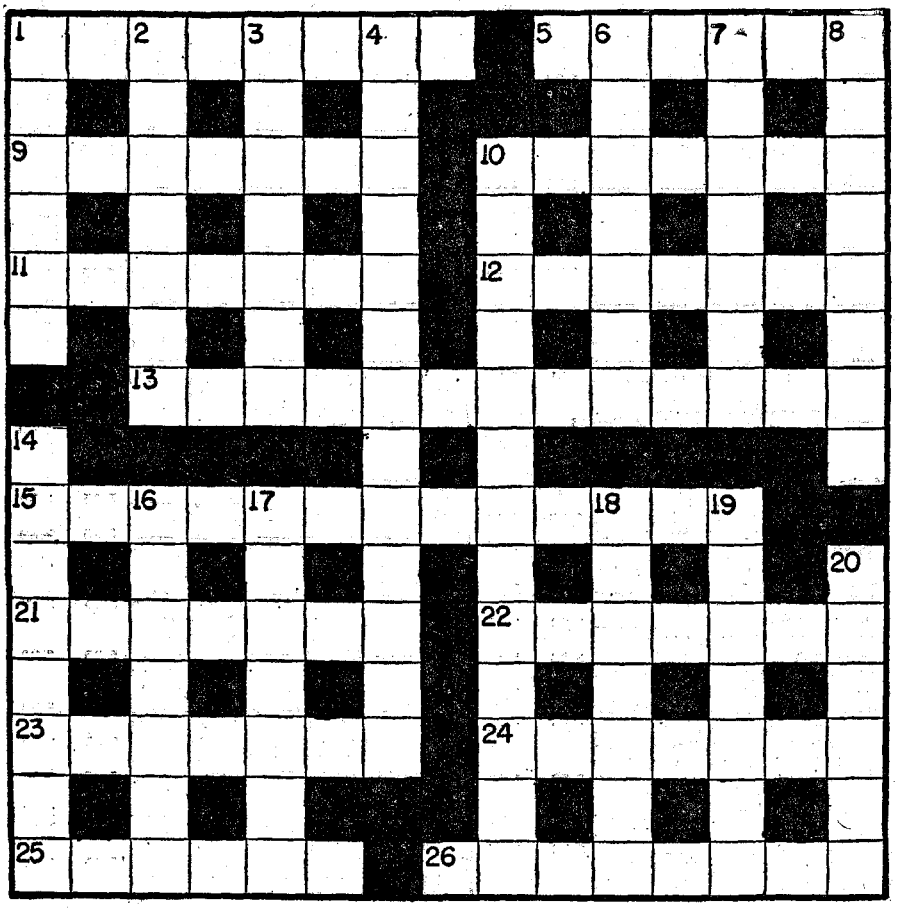
Crossword Puzzle No. 685

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Seem confused and about to leave the plant. (8)
5 and 26 Cavalier opponent. (6, 8)
9 Downpour in the place from which one starts a drive. (7)
10 Fastens locks, even in the rain. (4, 3)
11 Make bigger, in a general way. (7)
12 The force of unstable emotion about a child's game. (7)
13 It might circle about the horn. (8, 5)
15 The sort of debit some mind, but others almost look forward to. (13)
21 Arrived with quite a bit at this legendary site. (7)
22 Doesn't sound like a pencil mark at this angle. (7)
23 16 turned around, with two instead of one. (7)
24 Even apartment number. (7)
25 Stylish, to some. (6)
26 See 5 across

DOWN:

1 See 4 down
2 Necessary points of the business office? (7)
3 Courage of the United Nations. (7)
4 and 1 down Double T. (3, 5, 2, 3, 6)
6 The law about a false idol is thus fulfilled. (4, 3)
7 Good point of view. (7)
8 Lot entry, in a tainted manner. (8)
10 and 16 down A case of moving the barbecue indoors, because one of the guests complained. (6, 2, 2, 3, 7)
14 Drawn around at the sort of guess which should be good. (8)
16 See 10 down
17 Cuts a measure inside and becomes toned down. (7)
18 Formerly what was staked out? If you do in print it might be followed thus! (7)
19 The list that stands for Scotland. (7)
20 4 and 1 down. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 684

ACROSS: 1 RED AS A BEET; 6 IDOL; 10 CRULLER; 12 UNMENTIONABLES; 14 TURNPIKE; 15 LEAN-TO; 16 NOTARY; 18 CANNIBAL; 22 STANDARD-BEARER; 24 AVERRED; 25 MIDLAND; 26 AND 8 LISTLESS; 27 SPONGE-CAKE. DOWN: 1 RECOUNTING; 2 DRUMMER; 3 SILENT PARTNERS; 4 BERWICK; 5 EASING; 7 DRIVE-IN; 9 DOUBLE ENTENDRE; 13 TOLL-BRIDGE; 17 TOTTERS; 19 ANDAMAN; 20 BARBARA; 21 HARD-UP; 23 AND 11 TALL STORIES.

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